584 make the young man once more salute the parents of the girl and their companions. Now the girls of the house wash the feet of the visitors, and they take them inside. First they drink beer; thereupon they give them food. When they have eaten, they say good-bye to them. They return home; this is now finished.

c. Seeing house and home.

Now the girl's people go to see the young man's house and home, that they may know how their circumstances are. On this occasion the uncles and aunts of the girl on both father's and mother's side, the headman of their village and his deputy and a couple of the village people go along with them. The marriage-broker takes them straight to the house of the parents of the prospective bridegroom. Here they place bedsteads, stools, and wooden slabs to sit on before them, and they sit down. Then they bring water in loṭas[4] [515] and brass-cups, and they salute them one after the other. Thereupon they bring wooden slabs, water and oil in an earthenware lamp-vessel, and after the visitors have placed their feet on a wooden slab they wash their feet and anoint them with oil. When they have been washed the Jǫg Mạńjhi goes inside the house, brings oil out in a small earthenware vessel and one handful of tooth-brush twigs[5] and says to them: Do come along, we shall go to the water. He takes them along there. Here they bathe, clean their teeth and rub themselves in with oil. Thereupon they return to the house and again sit down on the bedsteads, as before. The people of the house now take mats inside and say: Please bring water for the friends in a loṭa; and this is done. The visitors now wash their hands; they take them into the house, and they sit down on the mats.

The Jǫg Mạńjhi then says: Please bring the beer. This is done; first they give the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there, they give each four leaf-cups of beer. Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring us beer in brass-cups, each of us once; give the friends. Thereupon they give all of them beer, and the village headman says: Please, Jǫg Mạńjhi, call a girl and let her pick up and throw these leaf-cups away. She does this, and they bring a brass-cup and water in a loṭa, thereupon all of them get their hands washed over the brass-cup.

Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring leaf-plates; and these are brought. First they place one before the village headman, and thereupon one before his deputy, and thereupon before all who are there. The Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Listen, one of you young men come here, [262] give us some parched rice and some flattened rice[6]. First he gives the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there. Now the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please, honoured friends, let us wet the parched and flattened rice. They do this, and again the

[415] [515] [4] The loṭa is a small metal vessel, generally of brass. [5] Like the Hindus the Santals are very careful with their teeth and constantly brush them with a small twig, shaped into a brush. The word dạtauni, tooth brush, is Hindi. [6] see Santal Dictionary s. vv. khạjạri and tabọn.

Jog Mąńjhi says: Please, bring some molasses. When this is brought, they give the village headman and his deputy and after them all who are there. 584 [262]

The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Honoured friends, as you see, we are drying people; otherwise in olden times they were saying, the rich people dry paddy and husks, as for us, we are drying you friends; for this, honoured friends, be especially grieved. Then the visitors answer: The grieving ones, Sir, have all gone in advance, to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand they have gone to herd crocodiles. Thereupon they eat, and when this is done the Jog Mąńjhi again says: Listen, we have cut and cleared the threshing-floor, please, bring us again some parched and flattened rice. They bring this and give to all who are there. The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Please, bring the friends some water from the closet of the ancestors[7]. Then they give them each one brass-cup full of beer. They finish eating and drinking.

Now the Jog Mąńjhi calls out: You wife of the eldest son (if there is no such one, he will call some other girl), come here, pick up these leaf-plates and throw them away; bring some water in a loṭa, and pour some out in a brass-cup for all of us; we shall wash our hands and mouth. When they have washed themselves, they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They then come out from the house, enter the cow-shed[8] and sit down on bedsteads. The Jog Mąńjhi says: You, wife of the eldest son (if there is such a one there), please bring a hookah[9] and tobacco. She brings this, and they hand it over to the visitors. [515] [352] [276]

The Jog Mąńjhi now goes into the house and says to the father of the young man: Look here, Sir, what shall we give the visitors to eat with the rice? He answers: Some of you call my eldest son. They call him; he comes and says: Why have you called me, father? His father says to him in reply: I say, my son, bring the biggest castrated goat. He goes and brings it. [231]

The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Do bring some water in a loṭa. They bring this and pour the water on the head of the castrated goat; thereupon they kill it.

They ask the visitors to sit down and take food. When they have given everybody rice and curry, the Jog Mąńjhi says: As you see, Sirs, you are our friends; as for us, we are drying the friends; our ancestors of old, the rich ones, they would dry paddy and husks; as you see, we are drying you, our friends; let this especially grieve you. The visitors then reply: Yes, Sir, the grieving ones have gone to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. Now they eat; when they have done, they wash and chew tobacco with lime.

Before they say good-bye to them, they again take them inside and give them beer. When they have drunk, they come out to be said good-bye to. They stand in a row, and while in this position they salute each other. Thereupon they see them off, and they go away.

[7] See Santal Dictionary s. v. bhitar. [8] During day-time, when no cattle is there, the cow-shed is commonly used for visitors. Bedsteads are placed here to sit down on. [9] See Santal Dictionary s. vv. huką and thamakur. [343] [352]

1 Cale Sin. Mar. — Bedding.

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calls the young men in the village together, sending the Goḍet, and says to them: Do set up a marriage-shed for us here. Thereupon he brings the village priest. When he has come, the village headman says to the bridegroom's father: Please give the priest three fowls, one speckled and two white ones, three half-seers of rice, one pot of beer, and the necessaries for making a sacrifice. The priest takes all this to the sacred grove or somewhere in the open field and sacrifices the fowls in the name of the marriage-shed. He makes the following invocation: Here then, Jaher era, in connexion with so and so setting up a marriage-shed I am giving thee, handing thee a sacrificial fowl; mayest thou with pleasure, with favour, accept this, receive this; mayest thou caress this, deem this big; we are now going to such and such a village to be a bridegroom's party; on the road, in the forest may no sudden fear or alarm happen to us, no stumbling, no fall, no spells, no enchantments; to the right, to the left may you toss it away, spatter it away, Father my Ṭhākur. We shall eat, we shall drink, do not let stomach-ache, headache arise, be caused. With the friends may there be no strife, no quarrel, no evil, no enmity, no loss, no destruction, Father my Ṭhākur. While reciting this invocation he offers the speckled fowl to Jaher era. Thereupon he sacrifices one white fowl to The Five (Mṛṛko Turuiko)[22], making a similar invocation. Lastly he sacrifices the remaining white fowl to Marań buru, and to him also he recites an invocation in the same way. The village priest has brought a couple of men with him; they make a hash of the fowls and eat them, and the pot of beer they brought they also drink; thereupon they return home.

585 [824]

The Jog Māṅjhi then again goes to the marriage-shed and asks the young men: Have you finished the marriage-shed or not as yet? They answer him: Yes, we have finished it. The Jog Māṅjhi then says to them: Dig a hole in the middle of the marriage-shed; we shall put a Mahua tree down there. He next asks them: Have you finished digging the hole or not as yet? He says to them: Enlarge the hole down below in the ground. When they have done this, the Jog Māṅjhi says to the bridegroom's parents: Bring three branches of raw turmeric and five cowries and three tips of dhubi grass. Grind the turmeric, mix three grains of sun-dried rice into the turmeric. They collect this and cover it up in a bundle, and where they have enlarged the hole, there they put it down. When this is done, they plant the Mahua tree in the dug hole, and when they have planted the Mahua tree they wrap a straw-rope round it up to the top.

Thereupon the Jog Māṅjhi calls the woman, the conductor of ceremonies, and says to her: Plaster this with earth and make it smooth, and whitewash it with flour, and grind some red-ochre stone; when this is done, paint figures on the marriage-shed post, and paint pictures of the bride and bridegroom in front. The conductor of ceremonies does this. [343].

Thereupon the Jog Māṅjhi says to the young men who set up the marriage-shed: This is finished; now before anything else have some food and strengthen yourselves. He goes [515]

[22] See Santal Dictionary s. v.

[4] Cuo Ēin Kiss. — Bedding.

2: Skrefarud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [515] into the bridegroom's house, brings out oil and toothbrush twigs and gives this to the young men and says to them: Do go and have a bath. They consequently go and bathe and brush their teeth. Coming back to the house they sit down. The Jog Mañjhi brings an earthenware pot of beer out from the house of marriage, pours the beer out and gives it to them, and they drink. Thereupon he brings out one big flat basket with rice and one small earthenware pot with curry. Further he brings leaf-plates and a loṭa out; handing them the loṭa he says to them: Do pour out water for yourselves; wash your hands. They do this; the Jog Mañjhi then says: I say, one of you, please give us the rice, and one of you the curry. Then they all eat, and when they have had food, he says to them: Twist some strings with fringes, some of you young men twist the strings, and some of you fetch mango leaves and insert them in the strings; tie the strings in the four corners of the marriage-shed. They do this. Again the Jog Mañjhi says to them: Fix strings in three places in the village street[23], one string outside the headman's house, and one at each end of the village street. They do this and finish all, so far as they are concerned.

[302] Thereupon the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please call the village headman and his deputy and all the married ladies of the village and bring them here, to anoint them with oil and turmeric. He does this himself, and they come. When they have sat down, they first give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. After this the Jog Mañjhi calls the anointing girls and says to them: Do anoint them for us with oil and turmeric. They do this; first they anoint the village priest and his wife, thereupon the priest of the outskirts and his wife, thereupon the village headman and his wife, thereupon his deputy with his wife, next the Jog Mañjhi and his wife, next his deputy and his wife, thereupon the Godet and his wife, and thereupon all the married ladies of the village. This they call the marriage-shed oil and turmeric. When all have been anointed, the parents of the bridegroom sit down on thatching-grass sheaves, and they are both anointed. Lastly they anoint the bridegroom sitting on a mat between his follower and the lady conductor of ceremonies. At this time they sing[24]:

[539]

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Who is she who anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man?

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Mother anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man.

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[23] These strings are arranged so as to run across the street. [24] The song is, like many others sung during the marriage ceremonies, in a corrupt form of Bihari; these songs are often very difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, it has in many cases happened that no Santal has been able to tell what they really mean.

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[539]

Formerly they say, young and nice, young and nice, they say,
Well, I saw him, he has teeth standing out,
Face like that of a goat to be sacrificed, ill-shaped forehead.

Your mother's love, young man,
Your father's predilection, young man,
You have become wrinkled, young man, like a garden fig.

The mother and father of the bridegroom, they say,
Have gone to the town to sell oil,
To trade in salt they have gone;
Oil, O no oil trade,
Salt, O no salt trade;
To the blacksmith's working place to blow the bellows they have gone.

Formerly, they say, go to the town with a fine little oil pot,
I saw him, I looked at him,
He is standing there with a hideous face like a holed pumpkin ladle.

Instead of "young man" here they use the bridegroom's name, singing his praise. The bride's mother then washes the bridegroom's feet; thereupon she rinses his mouth and puts molasses into his mouth; after this she again washes his mouth and gives him a little water to drink. In the same way she feeds also the best-man and the bridegroom's follower.

Now the anointing girls carry the bridegroom and his follower on their hip to the place outside the first house in the village street; the Jog Mañjhi goes along with them carrying the loṭa with water on the palm of his hand. The bridegroom's party and the bride's party follow after them dancing. Where the anointing girls have set the bridegroom down in the village street, here the woman of this house comes out and gives the bridegroom, his best-man and his follower molasses and water in their mouth. In the same way they treat them at every house. When they reach the outside of the bride's home, the bride's mother again feeds them. From there they go along the village street, and outside every house the women there feed them. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi takes them outside the village, to where the bridegroom's party are to be encamped, and says to them: Here are your lodgings: please stay here. The bridegroom's party now eat their own food and drink their own beer.

The Jog Mañjhi then goes to the bride's home and tells them, i. e., all the women, to get ready; he says to them: Come along to bathe the bridegroom. They bring out one leaf-cup with oil, one leaf-cup with turmeric, one pot with water, one mat, one wooden slab to sit on, and one piece of loin-cloth and one cotton shawl for the bridegroom, and [515]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [515] the Jog Mañjhi conducts them to the bridegroom's quarters, taking dancing-drums and kettle-drums along. When they reach there, the Jog Mañjhi says: Bring us our bridegroom. The bridegroom stands up, and the marriage-broker leads him by his hand to the women, who spread out the mat, and makes the bridegroom sit down on it. Three elder sisters[28] of the bride rub the bridegroom in with oil and comb him.

When they have finished this, they take away the mat, place the wooden slab there and make the bridegroom sit down on it; they have brought with them one vessel full of water, and with this water they bathe him. When they have done this, the Jog Mañjhi says: Listen, you, how will the bridegroom throw the "afterbirth"[29] away? The women of the bride's side then give the Jog Mañjhi the loin-cloth and shawl, and he gives it to the bridegroom, who takes this on and covers himself after having taken off his wet clothes. The anointing girls then say: He has thrown the afterbirth away; what shall we boil it in? The bridegroom's party then give them a pot of beer. Carrying this on the head they take it to the Jog Mañjhi's house, and having put it down there they separate.

Thereupon the village headman calls the Jog Mañjhi and the Goḍet and says to them: Please call all the village people, big and small, together; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. They call them together, and when they have come, they say to the marriage-broker: Make yourselves ready; come along, we shall see the application of sindur. When they have come, the village people say to the Jog Mañjhi and the Goḍet: Please find and bring some mango leaves, five leaves. They get these. The bridegroom's party are staying in the village street outside the bride's home and are dancing there.

The people of the bride's side then say: Please, you of the bridegroom's party, come all inside. They go inside and are given beer, which they drink. Outside the best-man has taken the bridegroom up to ride on his shoulder. At this moment the marriage-broker says: The younger brother of the bride is crying awfully to get a cloth. The [601] village people then say: Bring him riding on somebody's shoulder. A brother-in-law of the bride then takes him on his shoulder and brings him out. They bring this one and the bridegroom together in the same place; they hand both of them water in a loṭa and five mango leaves, and they, i. e., all the people of the bridegroom's party, say to them: Now, bridegroom, sprinkle water with the mango leaves on his head three times. And all the people of the bride's side say to the young man: Now, you also, young man, sprinkle three times on the young bridegroom. They both sprinkle on each other. Thereupon they say to the bridegroom: Do put a turban on him. He does this, and they say to him: Now, kiss him. He does this; thereupon they blow chewed rice out of the mouth at each other. Thereupon they put the young man who got the turban down on the ground.

[28] Women who are, or are counted as sisters. [29] Here fig. about used clothes that are to be taken off.

Thereupon they start serving out the feast. As they acted in the bride's home in connexion with food, drink and recitations, in the same way they act also in the bridegroom's home. When they have had food and drink, those who wish it dance, and those who wish to lie down go to sleep. 585

When day dawns, the conductress boils the marriage clothes of the bride and the bridegroom, and when this is done, she dumps and washes them and brings them. They make the brothers of the bride and the duenna brush their teeth. When they have done this, they give them, the bride and the bridegroom included, stale food, flattened and parched rice. Afterwards they gather the village people to see the bride and the bridegroom being bathed and getting their hair washed. The wives of the village headman and of his deputy, of the Jǫg Mâńjhi and of his deputy and of the Goḍet and of the village priest especially come. They then commence to bathe and wash the hair. They place before them two wooden slabs to sit on, one beside the other, and in one large leaf-cup they have made some hair-wash earth[20] wet. They have brought two tooth-brush twigs. They make the bride and the bridegroom sit down beside each other on the two wooden slabs. They make them sit facing the sun-rise. The bride sits on the right hand side of the bridegroom. The bridegroom then chews the tooth-brush twig; she, that is the conductress, gives this chewed twig to the bride, for her to brush her teeth. And the unused tooth-brush twig in the hand of the bride the conductress gives to the bridegroom. Now they both brush their teeth, and they wash their mouth and hands. [515]

The bridegroom then takes a little of the hair-wash earth up with his left hand and smears this on the head of the bride; and the bride washes the bridegroom's hair with the earth in the leaf-cup. Having washed his hair she washes and cleans him. Thereupon the conductress washes and cleans the bride. The bride next washes the bridegroom's feet and smears oil on his feet. Thereupon she bows to him, and then he moves away. The duenna, the brothers of the bride, and the village people look at this sitting. After this the bride washes the feet of the village priest, the field priest, the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mąńjhi and his deputy and the Goḍet, and after those she washes the feet of the bridegroom's father and maternal uncles and their ones. Thereupon she turns to the women, viz., to the wives of the village priest, of the field priest, of the village headman and of his deputy, of the Jǫg Mąńjhi and of his deputy and of the Goḍet, and to the mother of the bridegroom and her ones and the sister of the bridegroom's father and her ones, she washes the feet of all these.

Thereupon she washes the feet of the bridegroom's elder brothers, the brothers-in-law and younger brothers of the bridegroom with their ones, and she catches hold of the leg of each one, until they give her a wristlet or the like or some money. They give and

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[20] The Santals use a soapy kind of earth for washing the hair

[19] Gale Kto. Mus. — Bedding.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Santal traditions are silent as to whether Thàkur Jiu, after Man's first lapse at Khòj kaman, pronounced a curse on them that out of the sweat of their brow shall they earn their bread as on their Biblical prototype, but had He done so, it would have thrown some light on the strenuous struggle for existence of the Santal in this mundane world. Food, drink, shelter and the luxury of a fire have remained to this day as objects of man's instinctive worldly cravings, and Santals though no exception to the general rule, and while feeling the pinch like others, try to hide everything under a smile.

In this chapter, we propose to give the reader some idea of the material culture of the Santal on the basis of our enquiries in a number of villages in the state of Mayurbhanj[1].

The first item in the daily routine of the men is to rise from their sleep with the first grey of morning. They then have a wash and may indulge in a smoke of "puṅgis" (*a home-made cigarette made of sal-leaves*). Now their fields call them, and on they

1 The villages visited were Katsitsi, Andharia, Tursibani, Tentulbati (Munda) and Tikaripara (Rairangpur).

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462 512 go with their cattle to look after their agriculture. [264] It is about 9 a.m. that they can think of a breakfast, when the women convey to the fields a plate of [262] "Bàsiàm damari" (*rice soaked in water and kept over-*[263] *night*) which they eat with relish with a pinch of salt and some "sang" (*fried leaves*) generally of "sajina" leaves. Now refreshed with a meal, they work on till midday. The women are in the meantime busy with the hearth, cook and clean the yards and houses with cow-dung. The men return from [264] the fields at noon and bathe and eat their noon-day meal, again of soaked rice and "sang." Now the [515] women can think of their food and this they take [264] after a bath and after the men have dined, exactly [171] like their Hindu sisters. It is now time for men to take some rest. They loll on "parkòms" (*stringed bed-steads*) and doze for a time and are off to their fields at about 2 p.m. in the afternoon. There they [517] dig, plough or sow till 4 p.m., and after returning from the fields go round the villages, visiting friends or indulge themselves in village sports. Meanwhile, [264] their wives cook their supper, draw water and husk paddy and again at about 5-30 p.m., the family take dinner, the same menu being repeated. The children are fed first, the men next, the women, last of all.

With evening, the Santals as a tribe shut themselves indoors. If you ask them, "Why do you retire so early?" They will perhaps answer with a bland

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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boiled in water and mixed with salt and turmeric, serve as sauces in the Santal dinner.

We have already got some idea about the Santal use of "mohua" oil in cooking. This oil, they massage also over their bodies, but after and not before their daily ablution, as is the custom with some Hindus. Like the rest of the world, they delight in a smoke of tobacco. We have already noticed the preparation of the "pungi", the Santal cigarette, called also *chuti* in the Santal Parganas. This is, we were told, men's monopoly, the women smoking only occasionally. But raw tobacco, mixed with lime in the form of "khaini" (*Hindi*) is chewed frequently by both men and women as a perpetual stimulant.

No review of the material background of Santal life will be complete without a reference to their domestic animals. Cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats meet your eyes in the cattle-yard; pigs grunt, geese cackle and fowls flutter about mixed up with pigeons flying down from their improvised nests inside earthen pitchers suspended from roofs.

Drink

"Give me rice-beer, or give me death," may be the summary of a Santal's instinctive craving for

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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persons belonging to the same totem are affected, and they desist from eating fish, meat and oil, nor do they borrow fire from another man's house for nine days, till the *asidha* (ceremonial pollution) continues.

On the expiry of the period, the Headman arrives at the house in mourning with the village elders and the other invited relatives. A Santal barber then shaves the members of the family, whereupon, they bathe after rubbing their bodies with oil and oil-cake. Now, a ceremony follows when three tooth-sticks, four fingers in length, oil, oil-cake, *narkan hasa* (a kind of earth to wash the hair) are arranged on three *Sal*-leaves and offered to *Maraṅ Buru* (the chief presiding deity), the deceased and the dead ancestors, with prayers so that *Maraṅ Buru* may admit the released spirit after purifying it with all these materials.

Now, all men have a ceremonial bath closely followed by the women. A *Tika Murmu* now addresses the gathering, "They were so long under *ashida*. Now they are purified. We can now take them back." Now all shout *hòribol* as a sign of approval. Two men now again fall into a trance (*jhupar*) and impersonate *Maraṅ Buru* and the dead man. They are liberally plied with a supply of rice-beer, along with the "Mòṇṛèn hòṛ" (village elders). At night, fowls are offered by the tribe

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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833 sitting position; and the process, lip to lip, breast to breast in "passion's golden purity" is not known to the Santal.

As regards the preliminaries to the final coition prevailing amongst the Santals, we have mentioned that they scratch, bite and kiss. But these are done, according to the Santal, so as not to inflict pain. We enquired whether they avoid kissing the lips owing to the foul smell coming out of mouths. But [515] we gathered that the Santals are very clean as to their dental hygiene; for, from their fifth year upwards they make it a point to brush their teeth with *neem* or *sal* tooth-sticks. So foul-mouth is not a factor. Moreover, the very position adopted in coitus does not permit of kissing the lips. The [533] folk-songs are silent as to such kisses to our knowledge.

831 The Santal discusses sexual matters including coition quite normally and naturally. During our investigations we found men, old, adult and young, answering our questions without any embarrassment and while talking about these things themselves, they evinced as much of detachment as if they were talking about the weather. But there are certain 831 exceptions. There are grades of relationship with 602 whom Santals cannot have sexual talks, *viz.* Maraṅ Baba (Father's elder brother), Mama (maternal uncle), father's and mother's sister. The permissible

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224 782 In the alternative, the hunters may simply ask the Headman to invoke the Hill-god to look to the welfare of the tribe during the hunt.

224 834 784 As regards special rules to be observed before the hunting, it may be noted that men who will hunt, sleep separately from their wives and do not have sexual intercourse on the night previous to the hunting. On the day fixed for the excursion, the hunters do not apply oil on their heads or eat meat or fish or come in contact with women who have menstruated whose very touch is thought to defile the food or the clothes of the hunters.

224 [515] When the hunting party returns to the village, the feet of the hunters are washed with great delight by the women and oil is rubbed on the tired legs. All these conclude with the customary [516] salutations called *lobor* and *do god*, the former being adopted by women who are superiors in age and relationship and the latter, being a prostration by the juniors.

224 593 533 539 We would like to conclude this short review with a folk-song which describes the agony of a Santal wife while her husband is out hunting:

Baba hak najòmcò.
Baba sòbòd na jòmcò.
Baba lota dak' dògo sepeindaramlet.
Bàhu nalòmraga, bàhu nalòmhòmòra,
Bàhu hòpòn badal go bàhu hòpòn menak'ko.